2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding [706] battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of [224] [782] the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin [237] described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and [825] executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

272 Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine:
273 the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots
[756] or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and
776 rival functionaries.
775 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baare (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, [821] maerĕboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of [753] food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness [262] and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question [756] with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal [787] the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians [773] and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

771 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupu-
756 lously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and [787] catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a [754] jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar,
771 whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a
756 spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the
755 cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, an- [562] nouncing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most [262] important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food [778] reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

[Bororo da Campanha]

361

space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had been left behind, to bring nuts, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently.

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleeping either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no further furniture. Each family had its own hut.

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no industry whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments.

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language being almost forgotten even by the older people.

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompaniment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Several times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance

574 735 342 352 512 323 287 178 411 177 197 574 533 535 [273]

128 view with regard to procreation and birth, and the socially recognized union of man and woman.

844 We may begin by noting some common features in the
585 Bororo attitudes toward birth and marriage. Though these may be very important events in the life of one individual or family, the society at large ignores them. There is much excitement going on in the families involved, but these two changes of status (if birth may be called such for the new
[782] born child) do not affect the rest of the society. Compar-
[533] ative analysis of the Bororo ceremonies reveals that whenever there is an appeal to, or invocation of, spiritual beings the ceremony will be preceded and followed by singing. Outside
[533] of this religious context the Bororo do not sing. The only
[272] exception to this is that the Bororo sometimes sing Brazilian
[177] songs when they are drunk. In this respect birth and marriage are not religious ceremonies—no spirits are invoked, no songs sung. This contrasts sharply with the other changes of status which are considered significant by the Bororo viz.,
[55] naming, initiation, and death. In anticipation of a more
[773] exhaustive discussion, we may say that the newborn child is not considered a member of the society until it gets its name, and marriage is looked upon as a continuation of an alliance arrangement which was established in mythical time by other cultural exchanges, e.g., those of ceremonies and goods, rather than by the exchange of women and men.

cause their Echerae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."[1]

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them. Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual relations with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

---

[1] "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

835 but then, when people drink, they are not responsible for
[829] their actions. I could not detect any great concern over
[273] what had happened.

773 Besides, to the Bororo the examples from the mythical
183 past are the rules for today's life, and a knowledgeable man
835 will always find enough examples to justify his behavior. If
[616] he is Kiye or Bokodori Echerae, there will be no difficulty in finding precedents for intra-moiety relations. From myths and stories I have recorded four cases in which both partners were Kiye. One case concerns true siblings; four cases concern sexual relationships between Kiye and Badajebage Chebegiwuge (excluding, of course, those sanctioned as yorubodare); and three cases concern relations between Kiye and Bokodori Echerae. In two cases Bokodori Echerae men slept with their clan sisters; one of them also slept with
[614] his true sister. The Badajebage Chebegiwuge can find justification for their intraclan relations in the story about Meri (the sun), who had sexual relations with his sister when
[614] he was still among the Bororo. The same story will serve the Paiwoe too, because when Meri was on earth he was a member of the Paiwoe clan; later, when he went into the sky, the Badajebage Chebegiwuge saw him first, so he is now regarded as their ancestor.

773 The Tugarege do not have so many precedents, but, as it
183 was said earlier, they slept with each other when the Echerae
835 were not yet around. And there is also a story which tells
616 of Tori Bugu (Paiwoe) having sexual intercourse with his

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
462 the custom that the women prepare the food for the
252 funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's house, completely closed, and consumed there by those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however, what really happens there, although they pretend not to know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
562 the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these occasions the female sex always has a secondary role.
273 According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine obtained from the acuri palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
602 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

765 The following passages of the account by Karl von den
309 Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower (o.c., p. 505).: "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better, the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
301 he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment besides the black rope around his body, which he had spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro
431 remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows, presenting them to him."

222
273

WOMAN surveys well in an *acuri* palm, above, after top has been chopped off. Sap seeps upward, and while it collects a leaf covers the cavity. When well is full, *below*, a woman draws off the sap by using a long reed tube as a pipette.

142
302
415

[p. 41-B]

6:Konfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

~~765~~
302
292
415
273
142

PALM SAP, which has been allowed to ferment slightly, refreshes a dancer who has temporarily dropped out of the ceremony. His headdress is palm frond.

[p. 45-B]

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

767
765
776

renewed effort to call forth the spirit of the dead Bororo.

765
535

The ritual dances of the Bororo depict in lively and vigorous fashion many aspects of their relations with the spirit world. All the dances take place in the village plaza, and most of them continue for hours at a time, requiring tremendous physical endurance. As one by one the dancers become exhausted, they drop out of line. Weary and covered with perspiration, each one squats unceremoniously on the shallow grave, while someone pours a pot of water over him. These shower baths have a twofold purpose: they refresh the dancers and also moisten the ground, thus hastening decomposition of the body.

273 ●
222
[765]
[595]

Before the dancers return to strenuous activity, they may sip palm "wine." This weakly fermented beverage is prepared from sap of the *acuri* palm, a tree that grows in profusion near the village. To collect the sap, a man climbs to the top of the tree and cuts off the uppermost fronds. Next, his wife ascends and, with a shell, scrapes the pith from the heart of the

[p.45-c]

palm, leaving a deep well in which the sap collects by upward seepage. She covers the opening with leaves, and by the next day the well is full. A number of women then suck the sap into reeds, which they use as pipettes. When a reed is full, they close the top quickly with a thumb and transfer the sap to large pots. It is then taken back to the village and left in the shade for a day to ferment.

FOR a change of pace from the ritual dances of the funerary ceremony, the Bororo engage in an unusual kind of relay race. Two teams of young men—each team representing one of the two moieties of the society—oppose each other. Men of the two groups cut stems of buriti palms, trim them to a uniform length, and tie them into two huge circular bundles resembling cart wheels. Each one is about three feet in diameter and may weigh more than one hundred pounds. With a "cart wheel" on his shoulder, a lead-off man from each team begins running toward the village. When he tires under his heavy burden, the bundle is taken over

[p. 45-D]

[text continues on p. 46-B]

B /345 cont./
*171 by ordinary means. This brings about the amusing reverse situa-
755 tion whereby the doctor takes medicine in order to heal. The
276 more he can bear, the stronger he is. He knows all kinds of poisons that intoxicate and he uses them: tobacco, ågukuriõku or (çipó de cobra) snake-vine, seũwi or timbo vine (Paullinia pinnata), the leaves of the forest tree ãtíko. Everyone listens
B attentively to the unintelligible stuff that he offers during his
789 stupor, or to the strange experiences that he reports about his
B shadow after he wakes up from deep narcosis. He becomes a
756 great man, he enjoys the admiration and the gifts; like many other great men, he first permits himself to be led to slight exaggerations and then touches up his own achievements when they are not entirely adequate, so as not to disappoint the stupid
BO folk. Among the Bororó, a person who, at the time of the best
756 palm wine, consumes the largest quantities during the sumptuous
273 drinking bouts and, most successfully withstanding the intoxication, makes the longest speeches is recognized as a witch doctor; the concepts of the doctoral banquet and the doctoral examination coincide.

B The tobacco narcosis of the doctor is the most common
276 medicine for the patient among all our tribes, as well as among many others; the sick body is blown upon with huge clouds, at the same time it is spat upon vigorously, and in between it is kneaded with the use of all the muscular strength amidst terrible groans reverberating throughout the village, not from the patient, but from the doctor. This goes on for a long time; the doctor permits himself only brief pauses in the kneading, during which he laments loudly and at the same time smokes passionately. The cigars are furnished by the family. Finally he starts to suck and, with convulsive outbursts, spits out the cause of the illness.

A The Auetõ chief had drunk plant poisons, but he had not yet
622 undergone the greatest test, taking snake poison, which was often
755 done in "former" times. It is emphatically pointed out that the poison calabash of the sorcerer cannot harm the good medicine-man, but, of course, it is not explained how the latter can fall ill. The Auetõ chief had already been dead. When the medicine

/453 cont./

177 realize selfish wishes, but on their own initiative for the sake of
648 the humane purpose, and apart from any greed. The Indians saw only too well that to live and let live was the only watchword of their paragons, that everything one needed was conveniently furnished from the outside; they were sincerely glad to break with their warlike past as soon as it no longer served any purpose; they were just as afraid of the Brazilians as the latter were of them, and for them the colony meant merely a comfortable and happy existence with few duties, which consisted of their occasionally lending a hand and furnishing the Brazilian chiefs with female housemates. A blind man could have seen that they were the true masters of the colony, and not Lieutenant "Dyuáte," whose power was limited to his being in the position (actually in the forced position) of spoiling them.

128 Our impressions. Before I systematically assemble our observations, I should like to attempt to describe, on the basis of my journal, the most remarkable scenes from the life and activities of our Indians and their teachers that we experienced.

123 24 March. We are dining in our mess room with the door open. During the meal there is a constant coming and going; sometimes the little room is crowded with visitors, though we are sitting very close together as it is. The /454/ language used is a [192] wonderful Bororó-Portuguese. Bororó predominates in the ordinary pleasantries, that is to say, the substantives required for the case, only a rather small number of which is known by the Brazilians, are combined with two dozen pronominal, adjectival, adverbial, and even a few verbal expressions in stereotyped uniformity, and the natives themselves, especially the women, willingly adapt themselves to this pidgin-Bororó in their speech. The [273] principal person is Chief Arateba in a state of chronic drunkenness; a plate of leftovers is given to this one or that one. The eternal feminine is pushing herself very much into the foreground; the female friends of the gentlemen are also given their plates, and the louder and more uninhibited they behave, the merrier is the general atmosphere.

/457 cont./

ooo After the roll call the men took off their caps and hats and sang, or rather bawled, with one clear voice predominating:
O, virgem da concepção, Maria immaculada, vós sois a advogada dos peccadores, criais todos cheia de graça com a vossa feliz grandeza, vos soís dos céos princeza, do Espíritu Santo esposa.
Maria mãi de graça, mãi de misericordia, rogai Jesus por nos, recebai (!) nos na hora de morte! Senhor Deus pequei (?), Senhor, misericordia. Por vossa mãi, Maria Santissima, misericordia!*

* Satirical verse: "O, virgem da concepção, Maria immaculada, pagai o nosso soldo, deixai da caçoada! (pay us our wages and never mind the rotten jokes).

177 As in the "pronto" calls, Indians who happened to be passing by lustily joined in the singing; inside the house Caldas was practicing on the violin. At the end all of them, including the guard and the cadet with the sugar cane, knelt down. The Bororó did not pay any particular attention to the procedure, which had [533] long since been familiar to them. But about an hour later a dozen boys appeared before our door and sang -- the music was correct, the words, except for the beginning, unintelligible and not understood -- "O, Santa Maria, mãi de graxa," ** as they put their arms

** "Mother of fat" (pronounced grascha).

around one another, giggling, and lined up in a row leaning crookedly against one another.

648 Toward nine o'clock Moguyokrui had appeared before the
●273 cadets and demanded alcohol. For a change the chief "identifying himself completely with the civilization of his tribe" wore a woman's red petticoat and a white linen jacket; he insisted that the key to the supply room be fetched and he actually got his bottle; he achieved his purpose no less when, on occasion, he would rouse the gentlemen in the middle of the night.

Row with Arateba. He is once again totally drunk and demands more; this time, however, the famous key is refused. He alarms the whole colony with his yelling and scolding; he hastens to

/457 cont./

648 his hut and returns with two "espadas"! He waves the sabers around
273 in the air, enraged, and totters from side to side, but contents himself with threats. He takes off first his shirt, then his trousers, /458/ and throws them at poor Eliseo's feet; he turns to the soldiers who are standing idly by and pours out all the insults he knows against the superiors, who are likewise standing idly about. He wants to go away and to go with us because here they refuse him alcohol. Finally he trudges home.

000 30 March, Good Friday. The guard holds his gun pointed downward. The guns of the rest of the soldiers remain on the ground. The soldiers' wives in their freshly ironed Sunday clothing wander to the graveyard with crosses and candles. The prison is opened; two prisoners come out, one of them a tall Negro, his surrão -- the leather bag that takes the place of a knapsack -- on his back and in his hand the coxó, the fiddle of the sertanejo, on which he is happily strumming.

224 The hunters returned heavily laden and brought a quantity of
765 game in their carrying baskets; Coqueiro, the new widower, is still in the military colony. The body of his wife is dug out. The bones were cleaned and brought in a basket to the men's house in the evening; a new basket-bag, into which they are to be transferred at the actual burial service, lies beside them and a pot
[276] with water stands there. The room is dark; only a few embers glow to one side, at which those who smoke light their cigars, Many men, women, children are lying comfortably stretched out on
[533] the floor. A tight semicircle of squatting figures, however, the bari in the middle, surrounds the baskets and the pot; they are singing a monotonous, but loudly resounding song of lament.
[756] The Bari is incessantly swinging the gourd rattle filled with clink-
[534] ing shell fragments, his deep, quivering voice rises above all the others with strong pathos, and he does not stop singing and swinging until his voice and hand fail him; then he falls silent and lets the rattle come to a trembling stop, there is a brief pause during which, in his transport, he hastily puts a cigar to his mouth, and, drawing at it forcibly, he swallows the smoke. Again he sings and rattles and smokes in between, until after a brief hour the

/463 cont./

872 after the other, the boys had to recite after him. For hours they practiced, gaily waving their paper, "bal, bel, bil, bol, bul, dal, del, dil, dol, dul." In several months they had not gone beyond this. Caldas himself seemed impatient, and during the short time that we were able to endure the performance he asked three times what time it was. Two Bororó fathers were sitting in the /464/ corner and occasionally also murmured absent-mindedly bal, bel, bil, bol, bul. Among my linguistic notes I find that the Bororó told me, "he is teaching the boys to read"; the sentence in literal translation corresponds exactly to the situation: "he is
876 teaching the boys to look at the paper." Caldas hoped, however, that there would soon be progress; he said the boys were an ill-behaved lot who first had to learn obedience. Up to now he had hit their fingers with a ruler if they did not pay attention. Now, however, he had an improved system of "palmatorios," two specimens of which he showed us. They looked like wooden spoons, except that they had a circular, flat end-piece, and this -- here was the improvement -- was perforated with holes like a sieve. The air whistles through the holes and this increases the pain. Well, I hope the new palmatorios stood the test and that the boys have meanwhile progressed at least as far as xal, xel, xil, xol, xul. In our day the entire result was always just dal, del, dil, dol, dul.

578 The hostile brothers. On 9 April Arateba, in his drunkenness,
●[273] again put on one of his sensational performances. Burning with rage, he tears down the house of a widow who would not let him have his way. He is quickly finished with this work, even though he threatens to fall over backwards with each jerk. His brother and two sensible friends hoist him on their shoulders and take him to his hut. There he has the weeping blues for a quarter of an hour, but after cold water has been poured over him he pulls himself together again and appears in front of headquarters. He
593 strides up and down like a roaring lion in a cage and challenges his brother, upon whom he heaps abuse in front of all the people, to a fight. His brother leaps at him and, crouched over, hops back and forth in front of him for a while; then they clutch each other with furious holds. Arateba is thrown to the ground four times.

/464 cont./

593 Then Maria, their sister, steps in with determination and clasps him so firmly that he is unable to move. The brothers are led off in different directions. From Arateba's hut comes the sound of ugly quarreling; again the swaying drunkard appears -- he has a regular criminal's face and, to top it off, a smoothly shorn head -- and forces his way into the hut where his brother is hidden. Resounding blows, blustering voices, a general scuffle. The excited crowd, in the center of which Moguyokuri's figure towers, comes outside, several wrestle with each other, Arateba again lies on the ground, the women now throw themselves heavily into the fray, Maria overpowers the drunken one, and he is dragged away. Everyone is laughing; they go back to the ranchão [273] and several of them say, not unjustly: "piga* pega," "whiskey

* = Portuguese pinga, drop. Vulgar expression for alcohol.

is a bad thing."

000 Discipline. Where such scenes were the order of the day, how could it have been otherwise but that a harmful reaction upon the soldiers /Pl. XXVI appears here/ /465/ would result? The men [648] were embittered because the Indians were idle and they had to do all the work, because the Indian obtained free alcohol to the point of the most flagrant abuse, and they had to pay two milreis for a bottle or five times as much as in the city, because the Indian was permitted to say a contemptuous filho da puta /bastard/ to the faces of the officers without punishment, and they were obliged to go into the xadrez* for their offences. Good-natured Eliseo,

* The detention room. Literally, "chessboard."

however, who was unable to change the system, was guiltless -- indeed, he was lenient enough, for example, to pardon a man who went for him with a knife. Of course, their pay was wasted in card-playing. When payday came, one of them had lost 100 milreis in vinte e um or trinta e um. If they had no money, they would sell their household utensils for a song.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 576]

/466 cont./

600 Eliseo had not yet been promoted; he himself, however, had been obliged to advise against having his young friend take over the other colony, Izabel, as proposed, because he might spoil his entire career by a mistake! For an outsider it was, indeed, remarkable to see how very much the cadets trusted his paternal care, which he alone profited by, and seemed truly devoted to him. I estimate that there were 30-35 toasts during the evening and calculate that more than 20 were to Duarte's well-being. Good-natured Eliseo was priceless. He first asked fluent Ildefonso to speak for him, but after a while he got up himself and /467/ began with determination: "não tendo a devida intelligencia," in fact, once the ice was broken, he gave one toast after another, each time beginning with the excuse that he did not have the necessary mental powers, and each time, at the end, appealing for the coadjuvencia of those present, debaixo de todo enthusiasmo he drank the health successively of the individual members of Duarte's family, his wife in Cuyabá, his brother, and especially his eldest daughter. The more beer that was drunk, the more moving and serious the speeches became. The apothecary was a poet, he knew a great deal about all kinds of flowers and compared the uncouth cadet Joaquim to a bud, he extolled woman who -- part one -- was only a child, and for him -- part two -- a goddess who forever remains an unfathomable mystery to us men. To the soft accompaniment of the guitar Caldas recited stirring verses; the beautiful words often tumbled over one another with uncanny speed, and with equal alacrity our emotion was obliged to leap from the tender to the pathetic, from the strong to the sweet. Everyone was deeply moved. Duarte was embraced like a father, Eliseo knelt before him and begged him for his blessing, which the father, however, gently refused with a "isso não," "oh friends, not these tones."

648 I have not yet mentioned the Bororó. They were by no means
574 absent, however, and were very much part of things. For the
[293] first time I saw a proud Indian chief uncork a bottle of German export beer. They did very well by the juice of barley and sugar cane and drank far more than they could stand; they kept

/467 cont./

648 574 [273] interrupting the sentimental speeches with their eager chatter, but no one paid any attention to it, they raised their bottles when the glasses clinked and would join in, they exhausted themselves and us with tender embraces. Moguyokuri also sat down and sang a resounding song and played the guitar, sweeping across the strings like a tapir through bamboo. Only the Indian women were absent during the serenade. Before it started, however, two young people had been brought by Moguyokuri to Duarte's room next door. There they looked out of the window the next morning and let themselves be admired, tortoise-shell combs in their hair, talmi chains around their necks, rose-colored circlets around their wrists, and demurely dressed in long shirts covered with a huge, iridescent palmetto design.

648 Perhaps I may be permitted to close up my peep show here. The pictures would merely be repeated. Until our departure on 18 April we had no occasion to observe whether the absence of the leader of the catechesis might be to blame for our unfavorable first impressions. Quite the contrary. Duarte went bathing, took a walk to the brickyard or the like; otherwise he sat all day in his room, in which there were always many Bororó. They all begged. Some received something, others received nothing. There were always drunken ones among them. The soldiers brought wood and palm leaves, which they obtained in the forest, for a new building. A few Bororó helped /468/ occasionally, because they received whiskey for it. If the purpose of the colony was doing nothing and passing the time on the part of officials and Indians, it could be regarded as a shining example for all others.

III. Observations.

000 Anthropological. Dress (hair, sexualia, artificial injuries, painting, ornaments). The aróe. Hunting and agriculture. Weapons. Work in the men's house and techniques. Food; "consecration" by the baris. Dance and play. Musical instruments; whizzer sticks. Art of drawing. Law and marriage (customs of the family and of the men s house). Birth; names. Death rites. Soul and

/491 cont./

756 the latter "doutor." Let us confine ourselves to the term bari or medicine man. His training seems to be less ceremonious than is otherwise the case; it depends more on natural talent. During
• [273] the dry season -- the name does not actually refer to thirst -- the most akurí palm wine is drunk; the trees are tapped, and the sap runs into a pot or mortar and is drunk from bamboo beakers. The wine is somewhat sour, but plentiful. Both sexes become as intoxicated as possible. The one who holds out the longest becomes the medicine man. If it is said of him that the birds of the forest understand him, that he converses with trees and with animals of all sorts in their language, hopefully that does not mean /492/ a medical man who is still inspired by palm wine, but refers to study in solitude and to the aróe song in which the animals are
755 called upon. The bari treats his patients in the well-known manner: he groans, writhes, smokes, and sucks the cause of the illness -- customarily a bone here -- out of the body of the patient. Two things should be noted, however: first, the bone is merely displayed and does not leave his hand, and the doctor gives treatments only at night.

Waehneldt reports correspondingly about the Bororó on the Jaurú. Curing is done amid great clouds of smoke, unintelligible words, and, "the most important thing," convulsive movements: "I was present at the cure by such a padre, which consisted of his sucking at various parts of the body, and meanwhile he smoked his pipe and chewed up the mouthpiece. After each sucking he spit out the chewed-up pieces of his pipe, telling the patient that it
756 was the cause of his suffering." Furthermore--and now we come
784 back to the hunting booty -- a capibara pig had to be blessed in
825 the "sanctuary" by one of the four to six padres before it could be eaten or even touched. The baris cut off the best pieces and left the rest to the others.

On the S. Lourenço, too, the doctors likewise still lived in the golden age. It would be unjust to speak here of a delightful outgrowth of primitive hierarchy, for the bari was no "padre," but a "doutor" who merely did not yet know more than a "padre." The "consecration" was done in exactly the same way as the attempt to bring a dead person back to life. The logic is very

276

276 NARCOTICS AND STIMULANTS--drugs consumed for nontherapeutic purposes (e.g., tobacco, betel, coca, peyote); techniques of manufacture and preparation; methods of consumption (e.g., eating, chewing, smoking); special apparatus (e.g., cigarette holders, pipes, hypodermic needles); users; quantities consumed; physiological effects; behavior under narcosis and stimulation; associated beliefs and practices; social and legal controls; etc. See also:

Psychiatric aspects of drug addiction 158
Cultivation of narcotic plants 349
Condiments 363
Palliation of labor with drugs 461
Illicit narcotics traffic 548
Treatment of drug addicts 733
Notions about drug cravings 828

844 899 828 be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers), she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child 841 846 into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffocate the child and bury it there in the woods without any 593 846 ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain 224 226 261 276 545 duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunting or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat, drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but 593 827 846 not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the "child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and finally go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility.

After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but 824 252 only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she 593 846 stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a 291 292 white one just as she does when she is menstruating.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

On January 9, 1901, we reached the Rio Ponte de Pedra, about 45 miles north of its junction with the Rio São Lourenço, where the latter bends nearly westward. Senhor Antonio had recently thrown up here a simple palm-branch, stake-walled ranch, near an important village of the Bororó tribe on friendly terms. The place is called Ta-Dare-Mano Paro, "potato bank," or "place where tubers grow."

As soon as our arrival became known our ranch, scarcely more than an open shed, began to fill rapidly with our painted friends of all ages and sizes and of both sexes, who came to observe us and to see the marvelous things we had brought from our enchanted world. They pour in upon us regularly at the break of day and stay faithfully till the shadows of night begin to deepen; and though coming and going constantly, we always have our full complement. If we open one of our pack-mule trunks, our visitors are on the alert to handle whatever may strike their fancy. If we eat, every mouthful of food is closely scrutinized, and whatever we may do is observed with the closest attention. They recline on our boxes, sprawl on our tables, lean against the posts, squat on the ground, and hunch down around our pot as it boils, always leaving a patch of paint wherever they sit or lean. Some smoke, others lazily pick and eat the kernels from a roasted ear of corn, others nibble the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm that furnishes a considerable part of their food; the boys devour bits of fish roasted black, or shoot at a stick or a stump with their crude bows and arrows. Just outside the door men gossip, vacantly gazing, but never once toward the one they address, or they ask us a few questions in the limited language that we know in common. The women and children usually form an outer fringe to this group. Whenever there is prospect of obtaining beef our congregation is at once largely increased. They never steal anything that is distinctively ours, though they will take anything we have bought of them if they have an opportunity.

The long, straight, coarse black hair of both males and females hangs in a tangled mass about their shoulders, except above the forehead, where it is kept chopped off to form bangs. Nearly all the single young plaster these bangs with a sort of red putty made from the small yellowish-red fruit of the burity palm and fish oil, and the same paste is used to paint the entire body. Boys and girls who are esteemed by their parents also have the foretop arranged in this way, and a few of the latter who are regarded with special favor have it plaited with a layer of beautiful red feathers. Again, young men, as well as boys and girls, who are liked by their parents

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

each day during the weeks that we remained in their vicinity, and stayed by us faithfully until dark; and though coming and going continually, we had always a full house. If I opened a trunk, they were on the alert to peer into it, and to handle whatever struck their fancy. When we ate, every mouthful of food we took and our manner of eating; or if we wrote, or conversed, or photographed, or made our toilet, our every act was observed with the closest attention and commented upon in muttering tones by the horde of naked savages that encircled us, of which the women and children formed the outer ring.

They sat or lounged upon our boxes, benches and tables, or what served as a table, leaned against the stake walls of our hut, sat cross-legged on dry ox-hides on the ground, or upon flat stones or slabs of wood, or squatted around our pot of food as it boiled at the camp-fire, eyeing it hungrily, always leaving a patch of red grease on anything they sat upon or reclined against. A few dozed occasionally; some smoked when they could get a bit of tobacco; others roasted hunks of beef at our fire, or lazily picked off and ate the kernels from a roasted ear of corn; several nibbled pieces of the heart of a dwarf palm; while others, the boys, slowly devoured bits of fish that had been roasted black, peeling back the skin and scales as they ate; or amused themselves shooting with rude bows and arrows at a stump just outside our hut. The men gossiped a little among themselves in gutteral sounds, looking vacantly into space as expressionless as a professional gambler, and never once glancing toward the one addressed; or else asked us a few questions in the limited language that we knew in common. They would sit for hours at a time in every conceivable position and distortion of the body, uttering scarcely a word.

They are very fond of tobacco, and resorted to various tricks to obtain a small piece. Whenever they did any work for us, or made a trade, they invariably demanded a piece of tobacco from my companion in part payment. Besides trading, they availed themselves of numerous expedients to obtain

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

616 and eat, and in fact, do everything independently of each other.

262 As this was the season of green corn, all the savages
264 brought with them into the great hut, one or more roasted ears, which they paused, momentarily, in their work to slowly pick a few kernels from and eat them, or to smoke a whiff or two
276 from a cigarette. Whenever one of them obtained a bit of tobacco, he prepared it for smoking by first pulverizing it, then rolling it up in a leaf in the form of a cigarette. When they have no tobacco, which they seldom do, they substitute for it certain leaves, which they roll into cigars.

262 A few hours after sunrise, an *arrda* appeared at the en-
264 trance to the Sheraidi end of the great hut, and handed in a
616 clay pot containing about eight quarts of corn that had been
[252] cut from the cob and boiled, and a moment later, a similar pot
[415] of corn was delivered at the Ta Nagareda entrance, being one for each of the two parties. To eat, each group squatted or stood around its pot and scooped out the food with large shells, or with broad leaves folded to look like small sugar-scoops. I naturally supposed that these two pots of corn, in addition to the roasted ears that all had been nibbling during the morning, would make an ample breakfast for the thirty-three individuals in the hut. But, to my surprise, another pot containing a similar quantity of stewed corn, soon after appeared at the Sheraidi entrance to the primitive dining-hall, followed a moment later by another at the Ta Nagareda entrance; then, to my astonishment, more pots of corn continued to be passed in at each end of the big hut every ten or fifteen minutes, until a total of fifteen or six-
[26] teen had been brought in. This required each man to eat at least three or four quarts of corn during eighty minutes, in addition to the roasted ears each had consumed. As the two
574 *medo* who had accompanied us from the Ta Dare Mano Paro
576 village were guests of the local horde on this occasion, it was interesting to observe the etiquette shown in their treatment of them. As each pot was brought in and placed upon the ground, two members of the group receiving it would trot

/457 cont./

648 his hut and returns with two "espadas"! He waves the sabers around
273 in the air, enraged, and totters from side to side, but contents himself with threats. He takes off first his shirt, then his trousers, /458/ and throws them at poor Eliseo's feet; he turns to the soldiers who are standing idly by and pours out all the insults he knows against the superiors, who are likewise standing idly about. He wants to go away and to go with us because here they refuse him alcohol. Finally he trudges home.

000 30 March, Good Friday. The guard holds his gun pointed downward. The guns of the rest of the soldiers remain on the ground. The soldiers' wives in their freshly ironed Sunday clothing wander to the graveyard with crosses and candles. The prison is opened; two prisoners come out, one of them a tall Negro, his surrão -- the leather bag that takes the place of a knapsack -- on his back and in his hand the coxó, the fiddle of the sertanejo, on which he is happily strumming.

224 The hunters returned heavily laden and brought a quantity of
765 game in their carrying baskets; Coqueiro, the new widower, is still in the military colony. The body of his wife is dug out. The bones were cleaned and brought in a basket to the men's house in the evening; a new basket-bag, into which they are to be transferred at the actual burial service, lies beside them and a pot
[276] with water stands there. The room is dark; only a few embers glow to one side, at which those who smoke light their cigars, Many men, women, children are lying comfortably stretched out on
[533] the floor. A tight semicircle of squatting figures, however, the bari in the middle, surrounds the baskets and the pot; they are singing a monotonous, but loudly resounding song of lament.
[756] The Bari is incessantly swinging the gourd rattle filled with clink-
[534] ing shell fragments, his deep, quivering voice rises above all the others with strong pathos, and he does not stop singing and swinging until his voice and hand fail him; then he falls silent and lets the rattle come to a trembling stop, there is a brief pause during which, in his transport, he hastily puts a cigar to his mouth, and, drawing at it forcibly, he swallows the smoke. Again he sings and rattles and smokes in between, until after a brief hour the

/481 cont./

415 on the hunt needed no vessels or they knew how to make do with The men fruit /482/ shells and bamboo, they kept their feathers in large bamboo boxes, and the women made pot-bowls and water pots at [824] home. The giant bamboo does not grow in the vicinity of the colony, but is fetched from some distance; we found containers 50-60 centimeters long and nine centimeters thick, out of which longitudinal lids had been cut.

224 On page 558 I have presented drastic examples of the crude lack of understanding which was characteristic of the Bororó in contrast to the field cultivation of the Brazilians. The men went out hunting for days and weeks; sometimes they were accompanied by a few women. Thus it was not a purely nomadic life, but rather settlement was present. It was made possible by the roasting of game and by fishing.

[251] We saw a group of returning hunters; they brought home in carrying baskets a quantity of meat very thoroughly roasted, black and dry, chiefly wild pig, fowl, and turtles, with large, charred pieces of skin and only little meat adhering to them. [151] The Brazilians valued the Bororó as excellent trackers; deserting soldiers were soon caught with their help.*

487 * In order to prevent the troops sent out against them from finding their village, the natives resorted to the ruse of traveling the final stretch of the way through the trees as much as possible.

226 Fish were shot with arrows or caught with hooks, which they made out of stolen iron and out of the shell of the turtle, copying the Brazilian model, or in nets; in that a circle was formed and the fish driven together. They also blocked narrower rivers with branches and grass, leaving a few funnel-shaped entrance holes, behind which an enclosure of bamboo sticks was erected. In shallow rivers, Clemente said, the Indians remained in the water [147] all night, working by palm torches. The assertion that they were [824] able to remain under water for a long time remains incompre- [296] hensible to me. They chewed the bitter leaves of the "dyorúbo"

/482 cont./

226 tree before they plunged under, and afterwards they spat them
147 out again. They caught fish under water. He knew of one man
824 who remained in the depths for about an hour and came back
276 "with an armful of pintados."

484 It is certain that the Bororó liked to stay in the water. One saw those returning from the hunt appear in the river one or two kilometers above the colony and travel the distance by swimming or wading up to their necks in water, instead of choosing the land route and merely swimming across. One could hear them laugh-
[482] ing and talking far off; they would follow one another in pairs a short distance apart, all uniformly holding their bows straight up, like crosses, at the top of which the bunches of arrows were tied horizontally, and carrying the captured animals on their chests or under their arms.

482 The women who brought the heavily loaded baskets full of palm nuts and roots or huge bundles of long palm leaves for /483/ roof and house wall likewise swam home. They tied the carrying baskets to pieces of wood, four to each piece, and guided them with ropes, like the pelota (cf. p. 139 /untranslated/). The carrying baskets were carried on the back in a bast loop which ran across the forehead or the front of the head.

501 The Bororó did not have any canoes. They called the vessels of the Brazilians íka -- the same word that they used for branches and twigs (not tree trunks: ipó) such as they were in the habit of tying together to form small rafts for the transportation of loads.

231 Dogs, which we imagine to be indispensable to the primitive hunter, from the example of our forefathers, were absent among the Bororó, not only in their original home, but even now they were scarcely ever used, although they could easily have been available to them in large numbers.

000 Later I shall be in a position to discuss the distribution of hunting booty.

411 Weapons. Bows and arrows represented the highest development of techniques and were fashioned with extraordinary neatness and precision. Here one could see most clearly that, if only there is interest, there will be no lack of achievement. Except for the

/508 cont./

765 windows, were put on. It looked quite charming and dainty, what the crude hunters had worked out there. Now a special act was performed, the "consecration" of the skull and new basket. A sort of chapel or sanctuary was built in that five bows were planted in a semicircle, mats leaned against them, and coverlets hung on them and over them. In this niche /509/ was placed the decorated basket, three whizzer sticks as yet unpainted were leaned against it, and the skull laid on a mat filled with a loose heap of feathers; the most active of the baris sat down in the entrance, which was blocked by his body and the drummer standing behind him -- now without his drum. To encourage them, two pots of water, loam-yellow river water, and three [533] cigars had been put in the niche. Starting slowly, in a deep voice, the two began their song, and the bari swung a rattle in each hand. The others sat around happily, played little pranks, begged for tobacco, and merely hummed along in the final measure. Gradually, however, the singing became more animated, high women's voices joined in energetically, and at the niche the two leaders of the singing worked with all their might, until, after three-quarters of an hour, they were utterly exhausted. They bent down in the niche in order to drink, but their whole bodies shook as in fever, so that the water jug had to be held; they wiped off the perspiration and were able to stammer only a few inarticulate sounds, to which the chorus responded in [276] unison with several restrained grunts of approval. Trembling, they smoked their cigars.

[535] The coverlets were removed; six men, Coqueiro now among them, swung the rattles, sang, and danced, always with eyes closed, wholly absorbed in themselves. We, too, danced and rattled for a while, to the delight of the Indians. Only one or another would occasionally pause for a while, smoke his cigar meanwhile with great haste, and wipe off the sweat that poured in streams from the bodies of the six. Numerous women sang along, passing the time with delousing, or fanned the dancers rhythmically to cool them, standing behind them; a large number of men lay stretched out along the wall and rested. There was a general pause only once, and the singing was supplanted by the merry jingle of the harmonica coming

Bororo SP8
2: Steinen--645 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi

Plate XXX

276
291
789
821

Meteor-conjuration among the Bororó.

/514 cont./

821 789 great excitement, were puffing in all directions toward the sky, squirting a little saliva from their lips, much as the Kulisehu Indians had driven away the thunder clouds. They were trembling and tottering so that one feared they would fall to the ground in a faint. Then they turned toward the place where the meteor had [276] appeared, screamed vué! vué! with a threatening, terrified voice, pressing the hollow of the right hand to the mouth, stretched the left arm toward heaven, and each held up a bundle of span-long maize cigarettes. "Here, look at this," they seemed to say, "all /515/ this tobacco we are spending to drive away the evil. Woe to you, if you do not leave us in peace!"

[152] A strange mixture of fear and courage, the latter, unfortunately, being tinged with something just as artificial as on the occasion of the exorcism of the Kayapó danger. The trembling increased, their entire bodies vibrated, their bent-back heads wobbled, they touched themselves with twitching movements and passed their hands over their chests and stomachs in order to force away everything evil.

[276] After this spectacle had gone on for a while, their cigar bundles were taken out of their hands and lighted at the fire while the excited doctors, whimpering and shuddering, caught their breath for a moment. Half a dozen men got up, took a few puffs for comfort and strength, and gave the cigars to the baris, who resumed their cure. They puffed at the whole bundle, howled even more shrilly and reproachfully toward heaven than before, stroked their bodies even more assiduously, scratched their heads vigorously, puffed at their bundle once more, sucked convulsively at their forearms as though they were drawing the blood up from the depths, cried vué vuáu vuáu ever louder, shook themselves and blew toward the stars; their joints shook, their muscles flew.

[755] Finally, they suddenly began to look searchingly about them in the throng, talked to those standing nearest them, pointed into the crowd, and joined the main group where they undertook a brief cure of a weak old man, the chief Domingo, and several of the most esteemed who alone could be involved in such a special case. They lifted up their heads, looked at them

/515 cont./

821 789 searchingly, squirted into their faces, pzũ pzũ, and, with the hollow of their hands held against their mouths, again uttered their threatening vôu or a shrill hahahó, not forgetting to smoke up their bundle as they did so. The chorus had in general remained grave and quiet; only now and then did it break out in a one-part huhá and now triumphantly repeated it at the end as the two doctors, teeth chattering and murmuring a shivery tédede tedéte, retired. Aróe singing was heard all night long.

[276] The tobacco smoke had been used here in exactly the same way as the puffing against the thunderstorm, and I gained the impression that the doctor's smoking was very similar to a fumigation. Perhaps, for the original meaning of the method of curing, this should not be underestimated.

755 Domingo had an attack of weakness two days after the meteor conjuration. On the third day, 17 April, he was ill and apparently had a very ominous feeling. He crept about anxiously, his hands tied up in rags and his head and face covered so that he would not be recognized. Since we left the colony on 18 April we were unfortunately unable to find out whether this remedy helped him.

773 Ancestor legend. Arigá-Bororó is the tribal ancestor of the Indians. He had a wife. The puma is called arigá. Later, two men and two women came /516/ to the earth east of the baruparu river (cf. page 646) and reached the S. Lourenço. I was unable [124] to learn anything more. Clemente was quite useless here; he himself did not know anything and, on the basis of his knowledge of Brazil, interpreted those statements as meaning that the Bororó came from Rio de Janeiro. As far as I was able to understand, the Bororó lived on the source rivers of the S. Lourenço since the time they left heaven, and this origin from the east has nothing to do with tribal migrations, but is again only the result of the very natural reflection that the sun was in the possession of the oldest people and that the oldest people therefore lived where the sun originates.

301 [237] The principal ornaments used by men consisted of beautifully made feather ear pendants (*imittíta*) about 6 inches long, jaguar-teeth necklaces (*okopó*), necklaces made from human hair (*pasoé*), and cotton arm bands worn above the biceps. A short bamboo lip plug was worn in the lower lip. A crude comb, *putíku*, was made by binding together with human hair four siriva wood spikes about 5 534 inches in length. During dances the men fastened rattles made from tapir and peccary hoofs to their ankles. Women wore feather ear pendants and "store"-bead necklaces. Some of these ornaments are still worn by the old men.

ECONOMICS

AGRICULTURE

241 The traditional food crops of the Umotina included such plants as bitter manioc (*otulyo*), sweet manioc (*otulyo biboróno*), maize (*omatíku*), black and red beans (*dumatíku*), sweetpotatoes (*balarkúpo*), and cará (*tapatíku*). In addition, they cultivated gourds (*podrí*), cotton (*akyámaní*), [276] and urucú (*nodókahtríku*). Tobacco was not grown, as the Umotina did not smoke in the past. 222 The food supply was further augmented by the collection of a wide variety of roots, nuts, and fruits, including the piqui (*heír*), mangaba (*batorákwa*), and the "marmelo" (quince, *hashorákwa*). 237 Honey (*psíru*), was considered a delicacy and collected particularly before ceremonies.

241 Fields were cleared in the forest, but instead of felling the large trees, the branches were trimmed off in order to let in the sunlight. The undergrowth was beaten down with a wooden sword club (*dntho*) made from the wood of the siriva palm. In September the dry cut-over was burnt, and with the use of only a digging stick (*tápu*), the planting began. Maize was planted first; three or four seeds were put into a hole about 6 inches deep in order to protect them from birds. Manioc was planted by putting two pieces of stalk into a hole prepared with a digging stick. The field was weeded about a month later, after which the

[p. 106 (c)]